

THE CLARION.

THE TARIFF.

Senator Gorman's Plain Talk to His Brother Democrats.

Congressional Record Feb. 15 h.]

I desire to say that as a Democrat I have voted, as I believe upon all these questions, strictly within the Democratic rule of a tariff for revenue. There is not a Democrat on this floor who has not voted for the highest possible protection within the revenue standard for this interest of his State and the lowest possible duty upon every article that his people consume and do not either raise or manufacture.

Mr. Harris. I beg the Senator from Maryland not to make his assertion quite so broad. I understood him to say that there was not a Democrat on this floor who had not voted. I can assure him that there are Democrats on this floor who have voted exactly alike in respect to the interests of their own State as they have in respect to the interests of every other. I claim to be one of that character myself, and I refer to the record.

Mr. Maxey. The Senator from Maryland will allow me to say that I happen to be one who has not varied the shadow of a hair's breadth in my vote in respect to the interest of wool, which is important in Texas, in favor of that or any other interest. I have voted for a regular revenue tariff, and I vote for a proposition to reduce the duty on woolen goods and wool.

Mr. Gorman. I understand the views of the Senator from Texas as well as the Senator from Tennessee; and I believe that if there be an exception, it is the Senator from Tennessee. The location of his State is such that there is scarcely any special interest in that State connected with this tariff which affects his people or the interests of that State. It has an immense iron interest, but it is safe because of the cost of transportation on the foreign product from the seaports to his State. But there is scarcely a Southern man here or a Democrat who has not voted as I have stated. All voted to reduce the rates on cotton-ties.

Mr. Maxey. I deny that the vote upon the cotton-ties was a vote for reduction. It was a vote to leave it precisely where the law now stands, as it was construed by the Supreme Court; and it is not lowered one solitary farthing.

Mr. Morgan. We all voted against putting it on the free-list.

Mr. Gorman. You may vote against placing it on the free-list; but I state the fact, and I think the record will bear me out, that there is scarcely an interest in any State from Maine to Texas, or from Maryland to California, or any section where your States and your interests were affected, but each Senator representing that State has voted for it. I think it was right and proper to do so. I do not complain of it; it is the Democratic doctrine—revenue tariff with the natural incidental protection. That is all I contend for. When I ask you to apply that Democratic rule to Maryland, West Virginia and Pennsylvania coal interests, why oppose it? Why do you impeach our motives, deny to us that which you have secured for your States?

Mr. Morgan. Will the Senator point out any such vote that I have given in this Senate?

Mr. Gorman. Yes, Mr. President, one of the best speeches the Senator from Alabama has ever made, one of the strongest appeals ever made in this country in favor of the poor women of the South, was his speech for protecting the women who were spinning the web from the cocoon. No stronger appeal has ever been made for protection than was made in that speech.

Mr. Morgan. The Senator will bear me out in this, that I started my remarks on that with the assertion which no man has denied or can deny, that silk can be grown as well in Michigan or California, or New Jersey as it can in Alabama.

Mr. Gorman. The policy exists all the way through from Texas to Maine. You will find my friend from Texas voting for a duty upon cattle to prevent them coming in from Mexico in competition with the cattle of Texas. He would not put them upon the free-list, the very staff of life. He would not put on the free-list wheat, corn, or cattle; and my friend from Alabama would join him in that vote. My distinguished friend from North Carolina, Mr. Vance, who has fought nearly every section of this bill and has become as near a free-trader as any gentleman I have ever listened to, is in favor of taxing rice, and is in favor of keeping a tax upon turpentine. He even himself proposed to take from the free-list the wooden pipe the poor man smokes and place it on the taxable list.

Mr. Cameron, of Wisconsin. And he is also in favor of putting a tax on peanuts. [Laughter.]

Mr. Vance. As the Senator has referred to me by name, I hope he will yield to me for a moment.

Mr. Gorman. Certainly.

Mr. Vance. He cannot put his finger upon a single solitary word in which I have advocated protection on anything produced in my State—not one word, sir, nor any vote that I have given. I have said not one word about the duty on rice. The committee fixed that without consulting me. There is no duty upon anything else in my State except peanuts and turpentine that I know of, and that was fixed by the committee, and I said nothing about it. I voted to reduce the duty on cotton goods, and there is more cotton spun in North Carolina than there is in the State of Maryland. I voted to reduce the duty on iron, and there is more iron ore in my State than there is in Maryland. So on through the whole list. I say, sir, that the Senator cannot find one single solitary word in my record sounding to the folly of protection; not a single solitary word.

Mr. Gorman. Mr. President, the difference between the Senator from North Carolina and myself is this: The Tariff Commission and the Finance Committee of this body, a large majority of whom are Republicans, recommended

and reported a tariff bill, the provisions of which fully protected his rice, turpentine, and cotton interests. The duty upon all the products of North Carolina are at a point where they were fully protected; and of course the Senator from North Carolina remained in his seat without saying one word.

Mr. Vance. Would the Senator have me get up when there is a general divide of the plunder and refuse the share which is equitably due to my State? [Laughter.]

Mr. Gorman. No, sir.

Mr. Vance. Certainly; I yield to the natural sense of justice of all Senators. If they are going to plunder the people and divide it out, they ought to give the State of North Carolina her share; but I have not even asked to put any duty on rice. If you want to do so, strike it off; and strike it off turpentine if you want to; strike it off everything else grown by North Carolina if you want to see where my constituency will be, and if you think it right to protect everything but North Carolina products. If I had only such an interest in North Carolina as was concentrated in one man's hands, like the bichromate of potash, I would be ashamed to rise here and tax 49,999,999 people for the benefit of that one man.

Mr. Gorman. Now, Mr. President, the Senator from North Carolina, having secured by the report of the Finance Committee and by the recommendation of the Tariff Commission, all that his people want, asks the Senate whether he ought to get up here in his place and "disgorge the plunder that his people are about to get." No sir; that would be too much to expect of him; but it is ungenerous in that Senator, it is unfair in him as a Senator and a statesman, when he knows that \$220,000,000 of revenue are to be raised from a tariff for the support of the Government, to get in this way by the report of the committee all that his people want, and then turn around and strike not only at Maryland and West Virginia and Pennsylvania, but at 90,000 laborers who are dependent on this very interest. If we could wipe out this entire system of taxation I would go with the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. Vance. Do I get anything?

Mr. Gorman. The Senator's State does, I understand.

Mr. Vance. Is it for my interest? I never appeared to represent any interest of mine, and I never will. How about bichromate of potash?

Mr. Gorman. The Senator from North Carolina refers to another interest which has already been settled in this bill—that of bichromate of potash. I advocated a reduction in the present tax. I believed then and now that too great a reduction has been made. It was a greater reduction than has been made on any like products. Let me say to the Senator that no Democratic statesman, who has shaped this legislation when our party was in power, ever proposed to strike down these American industries. The Democratic party restored to power would not do it. But, sir, we must raise \$220,000,000 for the support of this government by taxation on goods imported. The only question now to be determined is one of a fair distribution of that tax. All interests will be protected if it is fairly distributed, and I will say to our Democratic friends here that there never has been a tariff bill drawn by Democratic statesmen that did not so discriminate within the revenue standard as to protect every American interest, and the American people will never submit to any other form of taxation.

When it comes to an interest of Maryland and West Virginia the Senator from North Carolina would strike it down. That is not right. To use his own strong language, if you choose to put it in that way, give us our fair share of this plunder when you have already had yours. I do not think it plunder. I ask it because it is right. Maryland, under the laws which have been passed by the Democratic party, enforced by Democratic Presidents, and in spite of unequal laws by Republican Congresses, has gone on and has built up a great community with large mining and manufacturing interests. One ninth of our population are so employed. All I ask is justice for the people of that commonwealth. Her representatives will extend the same rule to every other State. Now, sir, as to the consistency or rather inconsistency which the Senator from Alabama twits us with. It applies to every interest and every State in this Union. But yesterday we did what? Keep the tax on leaf-tobacco where it is, 35 cents a pound? No. By an overwhelming vote of the Senate, including the Senator from Kentucky, who now strikes at coal, raised the tax upon leaf-tobacco from 35 cents a pound to 75 cents and \$1. I say to that Senator that there is no principle on which he can justify his vote and twit us with being protectionists when all we ask is a moderate revenue duty upon coal. If tobacco can not be raised in Kentucky and Connecticut with a tax of 35 cents per pound upon the foreign commodity, then the farmers of Kentucky and the farmers of Connecticut ought to stop the raising of tobacco and engage in mining coal.

Mr. Williams. Will the Senator allow me a moment.

Mr. Gorman. Certainly.

Mr. Williams. Whenever this Government puts an internal revenue tax of 200 per cent upon the product of your coal-mines, then I will consent that you may be protected by a duty against foreign coal. The present ad valorem duty upon Kentucky tobacco is more than 200 per cent. of internal revenue taxation. While the Government is deriving from that source alone of taxation \$45,000,000 of revenue, it would be unjust and criminal to allow foreign tobacco to come in cheaper.

Mr. Gorman. I have great admiration for the Senator from Kentucky. I know his commanding ability; I know the intelligent view that he takes of all these questions; and he will pardon me if I put him only slightly below Madison and Walker, who have framed Democratic tariffs. I would prefer their judgment to his upon a question of this sort. When they framed the tariff, and when Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, who occupied

the chairmanship of the Committee on Finance, and men of their national reputations considered this subject, when you had low duties upon every other article in your tariff-list, and they said that \$1.25 was the proper revenue duty to be placed upon bituminous coal—the Senator from Kentucky will pardon me if I follow the lead of those distinguished gentlemen and not follow him in a low duty upon this article of 59 cents a ton, and then vote with him for 75 cents a pound on tobacco.

No, Mr. President, you may go through this list, and there is not a State in the Union that has not been more highly protected in some interest than the duty here asked upon coal. My distinguished friend from Delaware (Mr. Bayard), who is a revenue reformer, and for whom I have the highest admiration, when it came to his State, the tariff as reported from the Committee on Finance made a mistake on matches and he put 35 per cent. ad valorem on matches. So upon galvanized iron and upon all the manufactures in his State he insisted upon a fair, proper duty. He is only doing his duty as a Senator, a statesman, and within the Democratic doctrine.

Now, turning to the other side, to gentlemen who are protectionists *per se*, and taking the Senator from Maine (Mr. Frye) we find that while he and his party are in favor of high duties upon everything that is raised or manufactured in their section of the country, they become free-traders when they want an article that they neither manufacture nor grow. The Senator from Maine, while he voted for the high protection—and there is scarcely a manufactured article that he has not been ready to maintain the present duty or increase the duty upon—when it comes to wire rope manufactured in the State of my friend from New Jersey, he at once became a free-trader, and would put it upon the free-list. He wants it for the ships built in his State. So I might go into every article that is embraced in these schedules.

Mr. Maxey. Will the Senator allow me a word.

Mr. Gorman. With pleasure.

Mr. Maxey. The Senator from Maryland saw proper to make a charge that I had voted in favor of taxing cattle which came from Mexico and which might compete with those of Texas. Now, I desire to say to him that in no solitary vote have I varied the shadow of a shade of a hair's breadth from a strict revenue tariff, and in the very item to which he refers, the committee itself had voted to put "animals, live," at 20 per cent. ad valorem. A motion was made to strike that out and put them on the free-list; I voted against that upon the ground that it was a strictly revenue article, that 20 per cent. was the revenue rate, and that it ought to stay there for revenue, just as I voted for everything else at a fair revenue rate. That is the fact about it, and the record shows it.

Mr. Gorman. I trust the Senator from Texas will not think for one moment that I would misrepresent his position upon anything knowingly.

Mr. Maxey. I said when the question was up that it was not fair to put it on the free-list because it was strictly a revenue article, and that a man who saw proper to introduce cattle should pay duty the same as a man who saw proper to introduce woolen goods or cotton goods or anything else; that it was strictly a revenue article. I have not varied from that, and I deny the proposition that in any single instance, as charged by the Senator, I have attempted to protect the interests of Texas at the expense of the people of America. No word of mine can be found to sustain that position of the Senator.

Mr. Coke. The Senator from Maryland will allow me to say that on the same item I voted to put it on the free-list.

Mr. Gorman. Then it seems that the great State of Texas is divided. I did not mean to say that the Senator from Texas who sits furthest from me [Mr. Maxey] or any other Senator on this side ever voted for any article beyond the revenue standard; but who is to judge of the revenue standard?

Mr. Maxey. If the Senator will pardon me, the entire effect of his argument, as I understand it, was to attempt to show that Senators on this floor, instead of being governed by great principles which would result to the benefit of the American people, were controlled by matters in which their States were particularly interested, or in which they had a personal interest. I desire to make the additional statement that there is not an article in this whole bill in which I have the slightest personal interest, either manufactures, cattle, sheep-raising, or any protected interest whatever. I have no interest in any one of them, directly or indirectly.

Mr. Gorman. I have been exceedingly unfortunate if I have been understood to say that any Senator upon this floor has been induced to vote in a certain direction upon these measures because of his personal interest. On the contrary, I say that your votes have been controlled because of the interests which you represent, the great interests of the State and the section which every Senator represents, because of your intimate knowledge of the particular thing that has come up for your consideration.

Mr. Maxey. Will the Senator pardon me again for this is an important point?

Mr. Gorman. Certainly.

Mr. Maxey. I stated on the floor of the Senate that I would not vote one farthing in the interest of Texas that would not inure to the benefit of all the people of the United States; that I wanted a free race for all. I used that expression, and I repeat it to-day. I want no special protection for my State.

Mr. Gorman. I say, beyond this and exactly within the line the Senator has stated, the fact is, and this country knows it, that there never has been a strictly revenue tariff levied with a view to revenue alone, without incidental protection. There is not a period from the first bill that was drawn by Madison until now, that you have not placed upon the free-list articles that are not grown or manufactured in this country; and why? It runs through to-day, and this bill is full of such cases.

Simply because you do not want the money that could be raised from a tax upon these articles. In this very bill, \$200,000,000 to raise, it could be, if you will make it a purely revenue tariff, distributed over these thousand articles that are on the free-list, and thus reduce the rate upon cattle, upon machinery, and upon every article of manufacture and commerce that is contained in the bill. There is no such thing as a purely revenue tariff without incidental protection.

Mr. Maxey. If the Senator will permit me, if he will take the trouble to look at the tariff bill drawn by Mr. Madison, the act of 1789, he will find that it is all over bristling with articles produced in other countries coming into no competition whatever with articles in this country, and the entire tax in that first act amounts to 81 per cent. average.

Mr. Gorman. That was what was required by the necessities of the Government, at that time. Not more than eight or ten millions were wanted, as I remember, in that year. In 1857 you wanted about \$60,000,000, and you were able to put more articles on the free-list, and the rates of duties on the taxable list could have been reduced. To-day the necessities of Government growing out of the late war and your pension list and all the enormous expenses of the Government under Republican rule have run up until it makes it necessary to raise \$220,000,000 from taxes, and now you have reached a point where you desire to reduce the taxes upon the necessities of life and fix fair rates upon articles of manufacture, all the things that are imported into this country; and yet in doing that what have you done? You have increased the free-list and you have done it by putting on it bananas and pine-apples, coffee and hundreds of other articles. Why? Because they are not raised in this country and do not come into competition with the products of this country. There is not a Senator, on either side of the Chamber who does not know that the direct effect of placing those articles on the free-list is that you may keep up the rate on the articles which we manufacture or raise in this country. There is no other principle involved in this after you have reached the point where you have determined how much money is to be raised, except to distribute it fairly with a view of raising revenue first, protecting American labor and American interests as the incident. There is none other, disguise it as you may, call it what you may.

As to Mr. Madison, there can be no question as to his views upon the tariff. He was bold and outspoken, and fortunately we have the debates of the First Congress, in which he discussed the tariff bill drawn by his own hand. His statesmanship or his democracy no man will question. I quote from a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, in which he says:

"Although the freedom of commerce would be advantageous to the world, yet in some particulars one nation might suffer to benefit others. * * * If America was to leave her ports perfectly free, and make no discrimination between vessels owned by her citizens and those owned by foreigners, while other nations make this discrimination, it is obvious that such a policy would exclude American shipping altogether from foreign ports and she would be materially affected in one of her most important interests. To this we may add another consideration, that by encouraging the means of transportation for our productions we encourage the raising of them, and this object, I apprehend, is likely to be kept in view by the General Government. Duties laid on imported articles may have an effect which comes within the idea of national prudence. It may happen that materials for manufactures may grow up without any encouragement for this purpose. If it has been the case in some of the States, but in others regulations have been provided and have succeeded in producing some establishments which ought not to be allowed to perish from the alteration which has taken place, it would be cruel to neglect them and divert their industries to other channels. It is not possible for the hand of men to shift from one employment to another without being injured by the change. There may be some manufactures which being once formed can advance toward perfection without any adventitious aid, while others from want of the fostering hand of the Government will be unable to go on at all. Legislative attention will therefore be necessary to collect the proper objects for this purpose, and this will form an exception to my general principle."

This, Mr. President, is the doctrine of one of the fathers. It simply means proper discrimination for American interests. I am content to follow the teachings of so distinguished a statesman.

As I have said, there has not been a statesman in this country who ever framed a tariff bill or who was responsible for the management of the finances of the Government who has not taken that view. The Democratic party had long success by adhering to it. It will again go into power on that platform. The line between the two great parties is clear and well defined, and well understood by the country.

When I addressed the Senate some days ago upon the amendment now under consideration, I said that when the tax was \$1.25 a ton, a tax placed there by a Democratic Congress, it was reduced because some American capitalist had bought the mines of Nova Scotia and they were anxious to get that coal into New England free of duty. They did succeed about 1837 in getting it in without duty from Nova Scotia. The war came, and the mines of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia were closed because of the operations of the Army, and the owners of the mines notwithstanding they were Americans so far as the Nova Scotia mines were concerned, ran the price of coal up to the consumers in Boston and all along the Atlantic coast from \$6 to \$14 a ton. The war closed, the treaty had terminated, and Congress after due deliberation placed the duty of \$1.25 a ton upon coal. Then, in 1875, without attracting attention, as is frequently done in committees of conference, the duty was cut down to 75 cents a ton, 25 cents lower than it had been from the foundation of the Govern-

ment. Now the Tariff Commission, which my friend has no confidence in, I am sure, without an opportunity for any man who is interested in it being heard reported that it should be made 50 cents a ton—lower than it was in 1789, lower than it was when it cost to bring it by rail to Boston five times the amount that it does now, and the Tariff Commission recommended it, and the Finance Committee adopted their recommendation. We tell you now we know precisely what this interest is, and know that it is an interest that has never made a combination, as my friend from Alabama would have the Senate believe, to run up prices; but it is a vast interest, spread over many States, who have gone on and developed the mines and decreased the cost of coal until now it is brought into sharp competition with the English and Nova Scotia coals. The owners of the mines, the men who own the coal, do not make a profit of 23 cents a ton; yet Senators would take off the duty and paralyze, if not destroy, that great industry.

That is all there is of this question. It is not one of combination; it is not one of bargain; it is not one of trade. I desire to repeat that I advocate it because I believe it is just; I advocate it because I know it to be right, and have done it without any combination or contract, no matter who makes the statement here or elsewhere.

A Puritan Love Letter.

Perhaps the oddest, most incongruous, and with the single exception of Sam Weller's "Valentine," most uncouth love letter ever written, was one from John Winthrop to his third wife a short time before they were married. He was a Puritan of the straightest set; so was she; the two were equally matched so far, and he accordingly addresses her in the strangest adaptation of scripture language to the purposes of courtship ever seen. He begins: "Grace, mercy and peace, etc. My own beloved spouse, my most sweet friend and faithful companion of my pilgrimage, the happy and hopeful supply, next Christ Jesus, of my greatest losses" (he had lost two wives), "I wish thee a most plentiful increase of all true comfort in the love of Christ, with a large and prosperous addition of whatsoever happiness the sweet estate of holy wedlock, in the kindest society of a loving husband, may afford thee. Being filled with the joy of thy love, and wanting opportunity of more familiar communion with thee, which my heart fervently desires, I am constrained to ease the burden of my mind by this poor help of my scribbling pen, being sufficiently assured that, though my presence is that which thou desirest, yet in the want thereof these lines shall not be unfruitful of comfort to thee. And now, my sweet love, let me awhile solace myself in the remembrance of our love, of which this springtime of our acquaintance can put forth as yet no more but the leaves and blossoms, whilst the fruit lies wrapped up in the tender bud of hope; a little more patience will disclose this good fruit and bring it to sure maturity. Let it be our care and labor to preserve these hopeful buds from the beasts of the field, and from frosts and other injuries of the air, lest our fruit fall off ere it be ripe, or lose sight in the beauty and pleasantness thereof. Let us pluck up such nettles and thorns as would defraud our plants of their due nourishment; let us prune off superfluous branches; let us not stick at some labor in watering and manuring them; the plenty and goodness of our fruit shall recompense us abundantly. Our trees are planted in a fruitful soil; the ground and pattern of our love is no other but that between Christ and his dear spouse, of whom she speaks as she finds him. 'My well-beloved is mine and I am his.' Love was their banqueting house, love was their wine, love was their esau; love was his inviting, love was her comfort; love was his embracings, love was her refreshings; love made him seek her, love made her seek him; love made him wed her, love made her follow him; love made him her savior, love made her his servant. Love bred our fellowship, let love continue it and love shall increase it until death shall dissolve it. Amen."

Plain Words are Best.

We learn that certain people find fault with W. E. Clarke, of Providence, R. I., for not "writing up" his great kidney medicine, Hunt's Remedy, in more flowery style. It is not Mr. Clarke, but his critics, who are foolish. What does a man who is threatened with Bright's Disease, or any disease of the kidneys, bladder, liver, or urinary organs, most require—a word or a cure? In Hunt's Remedy, the great kidney and liver medicine, he gets the cure—a sure cure.

Sleep the Strongest of Medicine.

St. James Gazette.] It is reported of Lord Brougham that when he returned home after his brilliant and exhausting defense of Queen Caroline, he went at once to bed, with orders not to be disturbed, however long he might sleep—orders which his household obeyed, though with astonishment deepening into something like terror, as the young lawyer's nap prolonged itself for nearly eight-and-forty hours. His physician afterward declared that this sleep had saved him from brain fever, and though probably only the marvelous recuperative powers of youth enabled him to take nature's remedy in one such mighty dose, his extraordinary capacity of work up to extreme old age may not improbably have been due to a constitution endowed with such means for repairing at night the waste of the day.

Messrs. WHITEHEAD & Co., Meriden, say: "We have handled Brown's Iron Bitters with great success and with satisfaction to our customers."

TAKING one family with another, the wife works as hard as the husband, and the fact that his share involves the handling of the money does not make it his money. It belongs to both; and what he pays over to her is not a gift, but a matter of right.

DOCTOR said I must die of consumption, but Parker's Ginger Tonic cured me. A. OXNER, Highspire, Pa.

MEDICAL.

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